

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 5367

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, YO

SUBJECT: BIJEDIC VISIT TO USSR

REF: BELGRADE 1852 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. THE YUGOSLAVS COOPERATED WITH THE SOVIET IN PUBLICLY PAPERING OVER THEIR BILATERAL POLITICAL DIFFERENCES DURING PRIME MINISTER BIJEDIC'S APRIL 9-15 VISIT. BUT THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY HERE CONFIRMS THAT THE DIFFERENCES, WHILE NARROWED, WERE NOT ELIMINATED. A YUGOSLAV EMBOFF HAS TOLD US THAT, BOTH IN THE KOSYGIN TOAST APRIL 9 AND IN THE SOVIET DRAFT OF THE COMMUNIQUE, THE SOVIETS MADE AN EFFORT TO CALM YUGOSLAV SENSITIVITIES ABOUT EH PARTISANS' ROLE IN WORLD WAR II. BUT HE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT PRAVDA DISTORTED BIJEDIC'S WORDS IN LENINGRAD (REFTEL); AND HE CHARACTERIZED

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THE BIJEDIC-KOSYGIN TALKS AS "FRANK." AS IS USUAL FOR

SOVIET-YUGOSLAV VISITS AT THE PRIME MINISTERIAL LEVEL,
MOST OF THE SUBSTANTIVE EMPHASIS OF THE VISIT WAS ON
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS THE BILATERAL VIBES WERE
POSITIVE. THE COMMUNIQUE (PRAVDA, APRIL 16) REFERRED TO
BREZHNEV'S MEETING WITH BIJEDIC AS "COMRADELY," A PHRASE
MISSING FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF TITO'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV
IN KIEV IN NOVEMBER 1973 AND OF KOSYGIN'S RECEPTION BY
TITO IN BELGRADE A MONTH EARLIER. THE CHARACTERIZATION
OF KOSYGIN'S TALKS WITH BIJEDIC WAS ALSO WARMER THAN
FOLLOWING THEIR LAST MEETING A YEAR AND A HALF AGO.

3. THE SOVIETS MADE A STRONG EFFORT IN PUBLIC TO PRAISE
THE YUGOSLAV PARTISAN EFFORTS IN WORLD WAR II. KOSYGIN IN
HIS TOAST SPOKE WARMLY OF THE YUGOSLAV ROLE; THE COMMUNIQUE
REFERRED TO THE "HEROIC STRUGGLE" OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE;
AND AN IZVESTIYA COMMENTARY APRIL 16 NOTED THE "WORTHY
CONTRIBUTION" OF THE YUGOSLAV PATRIOTS TO THE GENERAL
VICTORY. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAV EMBOFF, THE
SOVIETS MADE NO EFFORT TO GET A COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO
THEIR STANDARD LINE THAT THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM MARKED
THE BIRTH OF WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM, WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY
HAVE BEEN OFFENSIVE TO THE YUGOSLAVS. THE SOVIETS ALSO
GAVE WAY TO THE YUGOSLAV VIEW OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AS
APPLYING TO STATES "IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEMS,"
A CONCESSION THEY DID NOT MAKE IN EITHER OF THE LAST TWO
COMMUNIQUE OR IN THE KOSYGIN TOAST OF APRIL 9. FINALLY,
THE YUGOSLAV EMBOFF SAID THAT THE SOVIETS AGREED IN THE
COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING SESSION TO YUGOSLAV LANGUAGE ON
NON-ALIGNED AND THIRD WORLD ISSUES THAN THEY USUALLY DO.

4. THE YUGOSLAV EMBOFF CHARACTERIZED THE VISIT AS
POSITIVE AND SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD EASED YUGOSLAV
PIQUE OVER THE WARTIME COOPERATION ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS,
HE SAID THEY HAD NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH TO SUIT THE YUGOSLAVS.
HE SAID THAT THE ISSUE HAD ARISEN IN THE BIJEDIC-KOSYGIN
TALKS, AND HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS AS FRANK WAS AT
VARIANCE WITH THE COMMUNIQUE. HE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT
PRAVDA HAD DISTORTED BIJEDIC'S WORDS IN LENINGRAD BY
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TURNING A ROUTINE TRIBUTE TO THE WARTIME COURAGE OF LENIN-
GRADERS INTO A PAEAN OF THANKS TO THE RED ARMY FOR ITS
ROLE IN YUGOSLAVIA.

5. YUGOSLAV EMBOFF PLED IGNORANCE OF WHAT WENT ON BETWEEN
BREZHNEV AND BIJEDIC; HE SAID THE TWO MET ALONE. ASKED IF
INTER-PARTY RELATIONS HAD COME UP AT ANY POINT IN THE VISIT,
HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW. HE LATER MADE CLEAR THAT YUGOSLAVIA

CONTINUES TO BE UNHAPPY WITH THE SOVIET EFFORT TO GET A PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT AT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, AND HE SAID THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A FUNDAMENTAL REASSESSMENT OF THE GOALS OF THE CONFERENCE.

6. THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNIQUE STRIKE US AS UNEXCEPTIONAL.

7. THE ECONOMIC EMPHASIS IN THE VISIT, WHILE TRADITIONAL, ALSO SERVES THE SOVIET PURPOSE OF DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM BILATERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND, IN THE LONGER RUN, GRATIFYING MOSCOW'S OBJECTIVE OF TYING THE YUGOSLAV ECONOMY MORE CLOSELY TO ITS OWN. THE COMMUNIQUE DEVOTES GREAT ATTENTION TO INCREASED COOPERATION IN SPECIFIC FIELDS--HEAVY INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORT AND CONSUMER GOOD PRODUCTION, AND JOINT LONG-TERM PLANNING IN A NUMBER OF SECTORS. ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY, SOVIET AGRICULTURE MINISTER AND POLITBURO MEMBER POLYANSKIY WILL SOON VISIT BELGRADE. SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE VOLUME OF BILATERAL TRADE ARE NOTED, INCLUDING FACT THAT THE VALUE TARGET FOR 1971-75 PERIOD WAS MET AS EARLY AS 1974. ON OTHER HAND, PROGRESS MADE IN CARRYING OUT NOVEMBER 1972 AGREEMENT ON SOVIET COOPERATION IN CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF YUGOSLAV ENTERPRISES IS DESCRIBED AS A "FIRM BASIS FOR DYNAMIC MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT DURING NEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN." WE INTERPRET THIS AS A EUPHEMISTIC ADMISSION THAT PROGRESS ON MANY OF APPROXIMATELY FIFTY DIFFERENT PROJECTS COVERED BY THE 1972 AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SLOW AND THAT THE YUGOSLAV DRAWDOWN ON THE CREDITS EXTENDED AT THAT TIME CONTINUES TO BE LIMITED.

8. REGARDING THE COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO THE SIGNATURE
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OF A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT FOR "MUTUAL DELIVERIES OF SHIPS AND SHIPPING EQUIPMENT, A SOVIET SOURCE DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH SOVIET--EE ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAS TOLD US THAT THE USSR HAD AGREED TO PURCHASE A NUMBER OF SHIPS FROM YUGOSLAV YARDS WHICH, HE SAID, HAVE BEEN SEVERELY HIT BY WORLDWIDE RECESSION IN SHIPPING. HE ALSO SAID THAT COOPERATION IN AUTOMOBILE SECTOR (ALSO MENTIONED IN THE COMMUNIQUE) WILL INVOLVE YUGOSLAV PRODUCTION OF PARTS FOR THE KAMA RIVER TRUCK COMPLEX, RATHER THAN COOPERATION BY YUGOSLAV INDUSTRIES SUCH AS CREVENA ZASTAVA WITH THE SOVIET FIAT PLANT AT TOGLIATTI WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME. THE SOURCE MADE NO MENTION OF EQUIPMENT FOR ATOMIC POWER STATIONS WHICH WAS CITED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. COOPERATION IN THIS SECTOR, HOWEVER, WOULD FIT IN WITH THE EXTENSIVE PLANS NOW UNDERWAY FOR EAST EUROPEAN-CEMA DEVELOPMENT OF

ATOMIC POWER STATIONS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF INTERATOMELEKTRO, ONE OF CEMA'S SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS. THE SOURCE ALSO SAID THAT THE USSR HAD AGREED TO PURCHASE MORE YUGOSLAV CONSUMER GOODS.

9. THERE IS AN INTERESTING COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO "EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION AND MUTUAL DELIVERIES OF RAW MATERIALS IN THE INTEREST OF FULLER SATISFACTION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES." THIS PROBABLY REFLECTS PERENNIAL YUGOSLAV REQUEST FOR LARGER QUANTITIES OF SOVIET OIL, COOKING COAL, IRON ORE, AND OTHER IMPORTANT RAW MATERIALS. GIVEN THE FACT THAT YUGOSLAVS MUST PAY THE SOVIETS REGULAR WORLD MARKET PRICES, WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CEMA PREFERENTIAL RATES, THIS PROBABLY REMAINS A DIFFICULT ISSUE TO RESOLVE.

10. THUS IT APPEARS TO US THAT SOVIETS HAVE ACHIEVED SOME SMALL BUT IMPORTANT NET ECONOMIC GAINS FROM THE BIJEDIC VISIT. THESE HAVE INCLUDED GOY AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN SOVIET BILATERAL PROGRAMS FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF ECONOMIC, AND ESPECIALLY INDUSTRIAL, COOPERATION. EQUALLY IMPORTANT ARE THE SOVIET AGREEMENT TO INCREASE PURCHASES OF SHIPS AND ALSO--APPARENTLY--YUGOSLAV AGREEMENT TO IMPORT EITHER SHIPS OR MARITIME EQUIPMENT FROM USSR. THE OVERALL RESULT SHOULD BE FURTHER GROWTH IN SOVIET-YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND THE ADDITION OF

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ANOTHER INCREMENT IN SOVIET ECONOMIC PRESENCE. THESE WILL NOT BE SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS BUT IN OUR VIEW THEY CONFORM WITH SOVIET LONG-TERM ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA.

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